



Self-Study Syllabus *on Chinese Foreign Policy*

Preface

About this syllabus

Along with China's rapid economic growth, increasing military power, and expanding influence, Chinese foreign policy is becoming a more salient concern for the United States, its allies and partners, and other countries in Asia and around the world. As China's interests become increasingly global, China is transitioning from a foreign policy that was once concerned principally with dealing with the superpowers, protecting China's regional interests, and positioning China as a champion of developing countries, to one with a more varied and global agenda. Chinese scholars and practitioners alike recognize that Chinese diplomacy must become more nuanced and sophisticated to keep pace with the new challenges that have accompanied China's rise and to manage tensions between China's traditional foreign policy principles and the need to protect Chinese interests not only close to home, but increasingly more globally. At the same time, China's more active diplomacy under Xi Jinping, particularly its assertive handling of maritime territorial disputes with Japan in the East China Sea and with Vietnam, the Philippines and other rival claimants in the South China Sea, is reshaping how

policymakers in Washington, Tokyo, Canberra and other capitals think about responding to the challenge of China's rising power.

This syllabus is organized to build understanding of Chinese foreign policy in a step-by-step fashion based on one hour of reading five nights a week for four weeks. In total, the key readings add up to roughly 800 pages, rarely more than 40–50 pages for a night. We assume no prior knowledge of Chinese foreign policy, only an interest in developing a clearer sense of how China is using diplomacy to address the challenges associated with its rise. The objective is to help you read beyond the headlines. Our goal is to provide you with the needed tools and knowledge to assist others in researching Chinese foreign policy and begin developing your own thoughts.

Chinese foreign policy has become more varied, sophisticated, and global over the past few decades. Indeed, Chinese diplomacy has undergone a remarkable transformation along with China's economic growth and the expansion of its regional and global interests. Not long ago, it would have been hard to imagine developments such

as the scale and scope of China's current involvement in Africa, China's first overseas military facility in Djibouti, or Beijing's establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). One of the challenges that this has created for observers of China's foreign policy is that so much is going on every day it is no longer possible to find one book on Chinese foreign policy that will provide a clear-eyed assessment of everything that a China analyst should know.

To understand China's diplomatic history after 1949, the best single volume to use as a guide to Chinese foreign policy is John Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Week One: Setting the Foundation

Introduction to Chinese Foreign Policy

Overview

The goal of this week's readings is to help you develop a basic familiarity with key aspects of Chinese foreign policy. The following readings will highlight some challenges associated with interpreting Chinese foreign policy, explain how China's foreign policy apparatus is organized, and give you a little historical background.

Authority and Sourcing:

Parsing Chinese intentions and articles is a key part of any analysis of Chinese foreign policy. These readings address some of the issues that young analysts will need to consider when evaluating their sources and everyday reading.

- Paul H.B. Godwin and Alice L. Miller, *China's Forbearance Has Limits: Chinese Threat and Retaliation Signaling and Its Implications for a Sino-American Military Confrontation*, China Strategic Perspectives No. 6 (Washington, DC: National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2013), pp. 29–37.
- Lyle Goldstein, “How China Sees America's Moves in Asia: Worse than Containment,” *The National Interest*, October 29, 2014;

Michael S. Chase, Timothy Heath, and Ely Ratner, “Engagement and Assurance: Debating the U.S.-China Relationship,” *The National Interest*, November 5, 2014; and Lyle Goldstein, “The Great Debate: U.S.-Chinese Relations and the Future of Asia,” *The National Interest*, November 10, 2014.

The Foreign Policymaking Apparatus:

These readings provide an overview of the organizational structure and functions of China's contemporary foreign policymaking system.

- Alice Miller, “The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Fall 2008).
- Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Organizational details and responsibilities]

- “一张图让您了解 ‘领导小组’ 是如何运行的?,” 人民网, July 8, 2013.
- Linda Jakobson and Dean Knox, *New Foreign Policy Actors in China* (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, September 2011).

China's Approach to Negotiation:

The seminal work on China's negotiating approach was done by Richard Solomon in a classified project for RAND in the 1980s. The work has since become public, and two versions of the work are now available.

- Richard H. Solomon, *Chinese Political Negotiating Behavior, 1967-1984* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1995).
- Richard H. Solomon, *Chinese Negotiating Behavior: Pursuing Interesting Through “Old Friends”* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1999).

What Does China Want?

These three essays address distinct approaches through which to view Chinese foreign policy and where it fits within Chinese strategy. More than their insight into Chinese diplomacy, they provide guidance on sources and arguments to consult when analyzing

Beijing's role in the international arena.

- Timothy Heath, "What Does China Want? Discerning the PRC's National Strategy," *Asian Security* Vol. 8, No. 1 (2012), 54–72.
- Alistair Iain Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27, No. 4 (Spring, 2003), 5–56.
- Naazneen Barma and Ely Ratner, "China's Illiberal Challenge," *Democracy Journal*, No. 2 (Fall 2006), 56–68.

Important Documents:

These three readings provide historical and contemporary language for how Beijing presents its objectives and its conduct of foreign policy to the outside world.

- "Backgrounder: Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," *Xinhua*, April 22, 2015.
- "Full Text of Hu Jintao's Report at 18th Party Congress," *Xinhua*, November 17, 2012. [中文]
- State Council Information Office, *China's Peaceful Development* (2011). [中文]

For Further Reading: The following citations are here to suggest focused readings based upon your interests and professional goals.

- David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of*

Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

- Ning Lu, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decisionmaking in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).
- Xiaohong Liu, *Chinese Ambassadors: The Rise of Diplomatic Professionalism Since 1949* (University of Washington Press, 2002).

Week Two: Evolution of Chinese Foreign Policy

The Mao, Deng, and Hu Eras in Diplomacy

Overview

This week's readings provide a broad overview of Chinese foreign policy since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. We have tried to pair a section of John Garver's *China's Quest* with a Chinese-language reading to paint each of the leadership era's in broad strokes.

Overview:

China's diplomacy has several enduring features, including the government's Marxist-Leninist legacy and the drive for modernization. These selections from Garver's book highlight the vicissitudes of Chinese efforts to reconcile the contradictions created by China's domestic political needs and international challenges.

- John Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–28, 674–704, 758–785

China's Foreign Policy under Mao Zedong:

Mao Zedong's China struck out aggressively

even as its relationship with the Soviet Union frayed. Mao tried to carve out a leading role for China in international socialism and non-aligned states, especially after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin's legacy.

- John Garver, *China's Quest*, 29–58, 92–145.
- Mao Zedong, “论十大关系 – 十 中国和外国的关系 [On the Ten Major Relationships: X. The Relationship between China and Other Countries],” April 25, 1956. [中文]

China's Foreign Policy under Deng Xiaoping:

The challenge facing Deng Xiaoping was how to open China to the outside without jeopardizing its political system.

- Garver, *China's Quest*, 349–382, 401–

460.

- Deng Xiaoping, “和平和发展是当代世界的两大问题 [Peace and Development are the Two Outstanding Issues in the World Today],” Excerpt of Talk with Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, March 4, 1985. [中文]

China's Foreign Policy under Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao:

Both Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao faced a complex international environment revolving around a difficult relationship with the United States. The core impulses remained the same. Time and effort ameliorated China's international isolation after the Tiananmen crackdown. Beijing also accomplished entry to the World Trade Organization, the return of Hong Kong and Macau, and a stabilized U.S.-China relationship.

- Garver, *China's Quest*, 528–556, 634–673.
- Evan Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, “China's New Diplomacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2003,
- Bonnie Glaser and Benjamin Dooley, “China's 11th Ambassadorial Conference Signals Continuity and Change in Foreign Policy,” *China Brief*, Nov 4, 2009,
- Dai Bungguo, “Stick to the Path of Peaceful

Development,” December 13, 2010,
• Evan S. Medeiros, “Strategic Hedging
and the Future of Asia-Pacific Stability,”
Washington Quarterly, Winter 2005-2006, pp.
145-167.

The Beginning of U.S.-China Relations:

The U.S. opening to China began in 1971 with National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger’s secret trip to China. In many ways, these initial discussions and the later ones involving President Richard Nixon helped set the parameters for how Beijing and Washington interact to the present day. Rather than read commentary and subsequent analysis, we recommend reading the transcripts and original policy documents themselves:

- The National Security Archive, George Washington University, Electronic Briefing Book: *The Beijing-Washington Back-Channel and Henry Kissinger’s Secret Trip to China*.
- The National Security Archive, George Washington University, Electronic Briefing Book: *Nixon’s Trip to China*.
- Steven Phillips, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XVII, China, 1969–1972* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2006).

- David P. Nickles, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1977–1980, Volume XIII, China* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2013).

For Further Reading:

- Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China’s Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014)
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America’s Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 2000).
 - 赵可金, 当代中国外交制度的转型与定位 [The Transformation and Standing of China’s Foreign Policy System] (北京时事出版社, 2012).

Week Three: Contemporary Policy Initiatives

Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Foreign Policy

Overview

This week's readings introduce some of the signature diplomatic initiatives from the Xi Jinping era. They will provide parts of the evolving glossary of Chinese terminology related to foreign affairs since the 18th Party Congress.

New Type of International Relations:

Early in his tenure, Xi Jinping introduced the “New Type of International Relations” (新型国际关系) concept into Chinese foreign policy discourse. The concept outlines an updated form of China's traditional principles of coexistence to shape a more democratic international order. Only two or three Western analyses of Xi's concept have appeared since 2013, but a “New Type of International Relations” underpins many of China's diplomatic initiatives today.

- “习近平：建立以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系 [Xi Jinping: Constructing a New Type of International Relations with Cooperation and at the Core],” *People's Daily*, March 24, 2013.
- “国家主席习近平在莫斯科国际关系学院的演讲(全文) [Full Text of Xi Jinping's Speech

at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations],” *Xinhua*, May 3, 2015.

- “王毅：构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系——对‘21世纪国际关系向何处去’的中国答案 [Wang Yi: Build a New Type of International Relations Featuring Win-Win Cooperation -- China's Answer to the Question ‘Where Are the International Relations of the 21st Century Heading’],” *Study Times*, June 20, 2016. [English]

New Type of Great Power Relations:

For the past several years Xi Jinping and other Chinese leaders have attempted to persuade their American counterparts to accept China's vision for the establishment of a “new type of great power relations” or “new pattern of major country relations” with the United States. Beijing has found this

a hard sell because even as policymakers in Washington have been keen to avoid a deepening strategic rivalry with China, they have been wary of buying into an approach that demands they accommodate China's “core interests” unconditionally.

- 崔天凯 [Cui Tiankai] and 庞含兆 [Pang Hanzhao], “新时期中国外交全局中的中美关系: 兼论中美共建新型大国关系 [China-U.S. Relations in China's Overall Diplomacy in the New Era: On China and U.S. Working Together to Build a New-Type Relationship Between Major Countries],” July 2012.
- Michael S. Chase, “China's Search for a ‘New Type of Great Power Relationship’,” *Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, September 7, 2012.
- Paul Mancinelli, “Conceptualizing ‘New Type Great Power Relations’: The Sino-Russian Model,” *Jamestown Foundation China Brief*, May 7, 2014

Taiwan and Cross-Strait Relations:

In Beijing's eyes, Taiwan remains unfinished business regardless where trends in Taiwanese identity or popular opinion lead. The political collapse of the Kuomintang and the ascendancy of the Democratic Progressive Party placed China's assumption

of eventual unification in jeopardy. The coming years will bring a great deal of change as China, Taiwan, and the United States sort through the implications of Taiwan's political sea change.

- Alan D. Romberg, "The Bull in the China Shop," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 52 (Winter 2017),
- Alan D. Romberg, "Cross-Strait Relations: Skepticism Abounds," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 54 (Fall 2017),
- *Anti-Secession Law* (full text), Adopted at the Third Session of the Tenth National People's Congress, March 14, 2005,
- Lin Chong-pin, "More Carrot than Stick: Beijing's Emerging Taiwan Policy," *China Security*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter 2008), 3-29.
- J. Michael Cole, "Taiwan Confirms China's 'Black Hand' Behind Anti-Reform Protests," *Taiwan Democracy Brief*, July 18, 2017; J. Michael Cole, "Illiberal Forces Push Back in Taiwan," *Taiwan Democracy Brief*, October 3, 2017.

Periphery Diplomacy:

Periphery diplomacy (周边外交) has faded from American discussions of Chinese foreign policy, but the fundamental elements of it remain a part of Xi's foreign policy today. The concept was introduced in 2013 at a major

foreign affairs conference convened by the Central Committee to discuss how Beijing should shape its immediate neighbors.

- Timothy Heath, "Diplomacy Work Forum: Xi Steps Up Efforts to Shape a China-Centered Regional Order," *China Brief*, November 7, 2013.
- Xi Jinping, "New Asian Security Concept for New Progress in Security Cooperation," *Remarks at the Fourth Summit of CICA*, Shanghai Expo Center, May 21, 2014,
- Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Views and Commentary on Periphery Diplomacy," *China Leadership Monitor*, Summer 2014.
- Bonnie Glaser and Deep Pal, "Is China's Charm Offensive Dead?," *China Brief*, July 31, 2014.

One Belt, One Road:

The "One Belt, One Road" initiative became Xi's signature foreign policy initiative. China's "project of the century" aims to integrate the Eurasian landmass in a network of economic ties and infrastructure, plugging the trillion-dollar hole in Asian infrastructure needs. The mammoth endeavor is fraught with pitfalls, and it will pose a major test of China's commitment to a global role.

- Christopher Johnson, "President Xi Jinping's "Belt and Road" Initiative: A Practical Assessment of the Chinese Communist Party's Roadmap for China's Global Resurgence," Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 28, 2016.
- "Full Text of President Xi's Speech at Opening of Belt and Road Forum," Xinhua, May 14, 2017 [中文]
- "习近平在纳扎尔巴耶夫大学的演讲(全文) [Full Text of Xi Jinping's Speech at Nazarbayev University], *Xinhua*, September 8, 2013.
- "国家主席习近平在印度尼西亚国会发表演讲(全文) [Full Text of Xi Jinping's Speech before the Indonesian Parliament], *China News Service*, October 3, 2013.
- SUGGESTED READING: Nadege Rolland, *China's Eurasian Century? Political and Strategic Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative* (Seattle, WA: National Bureau of Asian Research, May 2017).

Evaluations of Xi Jinping's Foreign Policy: Ahead of the 19th Party Congress, leading party journals published authoritative accounts of Xi's foreign policy between 2012 and 2017. These articles by senior diplomats outline the contours of Xi Jinping's foreign policy and the post-American world in which China perceives itself as operating.

- 杨洁篪 [Yang Jiechi], “深入学习贯彻习近平总书记外交思想 不断谱写中国特色大国外交新篇章 [Study and Implement the Diplomatic Thought of General Secretary Xi Jinping; Ceaselessly Write a New Chapter of Great Power Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics],” 求是 [Seeking Truth], No. 2017/14, July 15, 2017:
- 王毅 [Wang Yi], “共建伙伴关系 共谋和平发展 [Build Partnerships to Seek Peaceful Development],” 学习时报 [Study Times], March 29, 2017:
- 杨洁篪 [Yang Jiechi], “在习近平总书记外交思想指引下不断开创对外工作新局面 [Under the Guidance of General Secretary Xi Jinping’s Diplomatic Thought Ceaselessly Create a New Situation for Foreign Work],” People’s Daily, January 14, 2017:
- He Yafei, “Arrival of the ‘Post-American Era’,” China-U.S. Focus, August 21, 2017
- Michael Swaine, “Chinese Attitudes Toward the U.S. Withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accords,” China Leadership Monitor, No. 54 (Fall 2017) .

(Stanford, 2007).

- Andrew Scobell, Ely Ratner, and Michael Beckley, *China’s Strategy Toward South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2014)
- Jeffrey A. Bader, *Obama and China’s Rise: An Insider’s Account of America’s Asia Strategy*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2013.
- Hillary Clinton, “America’s Pacific Century,” *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/>.
- Tom Miller, *China’s Asian Dream: Empire Building along the New Silk Road* (London: Zed Books, 2017).

For Further Reading:

- Richard Bush, *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2013).
- Alan Wachman, *Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China’s Territorial Integrity*

Week Four: Cases in Chinese Diplomacy

Functional and Regional Case Studies in Chinese Foreign Policy

Overview

This week's readings provide brief overviews of several function and regional cases of Chinese diplomacy and foreign policy in action. Some of these case studies illustrate the truism of today's world that foreign ministries no longer necessarily play the leading role. A more complete grasp of China's diplomacy will combine functional and country-specific information about Chinese activities, domestic policy, and diplomacy.

Chinese Diplomacy toward Japan:

Japan's relationship with China fluctuated up and down over the past two decades, especially as historical issues such as territorial disputes and Japanese aggression in World War II resurfaced.

- Garver, *China's Quest*, 705–733.
- Richard C. Bush, *The Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2010), Chapters 1-4, 6.
- Wu Xinbo, "The End of the Silver Lining: A Chinese View of the U.S.-Japan Alliance," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2005-06), pp. 119-130.

Maritime Security Issues:

China's more assertive approach to handling its maritime territorial disputes in the South China Sea illustrates the tension between China's attempts to defend its sovereignty claims and its desire to maintain constructive relations with its neighbors and a regional security environment conducive to economic growth and development.

- *Stirring Up the South China Sea*, International Crisis Group, Asia Report No. 223 (April 23, 2012).
- Andrew S. Erickson and Conor M. Kennedy, "China's Maritime Militia: What It Is and How to Deal with It," *Foreign Affairs*, June 23, 2016.
- Andrew S. Erickson and Conor M. Kennedy,

China's Third Sea Force, People's Armed Forces Maritime Militia: Tether to the PLA, U.S. Naval War College - China Maritime Studies Institute, *China Maritime Report* No. 1 (March 2017).

- Ryan D. Martinson, "China's Great Balancing Act Unfolds: Enforcing Maritime Rights vs. Stability," *The National Interest*, September 11, 2015. Be sure to follow the hyperlinks to a variety of Chinese-language speeches and articles.

Negotiating Climate Change Summitry:

The international negotiations on climate change in Copenhagen collapsed in 2009 with Beijing playing a leading role. Between 2014 and 2016, Beijing and Washington made parallel commitments to limit emissions and sign onto the Paris Agreement. What China is doing and why in climate change negotiations provides useful case study in domestic-international linkages that affect diplomacy.

- Lisa Williams, *China's Climate Change Policies: Actors and Drivers*, Lowy Institute (July 2014).
- Zhang Haibin, *China and International Climate Change Negotiations*, Welt-Trends Online Dossier (March 2013).

Overseas Protection:

Beijing's push for companies to "go out" internationally has led to increasing numbers of Chinese living, working, and traveling abroad. Chinese people have become targets for attacks and kidnappings, but Beijing has not developed an adequate framework within the traditional bounds of its foreign policy. That, however, is starting to change.

- Mathieu Duchâtel, Oliver Bräuner, and Zhou Hang, "Protecting China's Overseas Interests: The Slow Move Away from Non-Interference," Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI Policy Paper, No. 41 (June 2014).
- Andrew S. Erickson and Austin M. Strange, "Ripples of Change in Chinese Foreign Policy? Evidence from Recent Approaches to Nontraditional Waterborne Security," *Asia Policy*, No. 17 (January 2014), 93–126.

Cyber-Security and Sovereignty:

Since its popularization in the 1990s, the Internet generated tension between the libertarian vision for the free flow of information internationally and the existence of supporting hardware inside states. China's

booming market for online services and Beijing's desire for control has given the state leverage internationally to shape how the Internet is governed.

- 方可成 [Fang Kecheng], "「外交」是中國舉辦「世界互聯網大會」的本質 [Diplomacy is the Point of China's World Internet Conference]," *The Initium*, December 18, 2015. Translated by the *China Media Project*, December 21, 2015.
- 郑必坚 [Zheng Bijian], "网络化大潮与中国的和平崛起 [Networkification Trend and China's Peaceful Rise]," *中国信息安全* [China Information Security], February 21, 2017.
- Milton L. Mueller, "China and Global Internet Governance: A Tiger by the Tail," in Ronald Deibert, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, and Jonathan Zittrain, eds., *Access Contested: Security, Identity, and Resistance in Asian Cyberspace* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), pp. 177–194.
- State Council Information Office, *The Internet in China*, White Paper (2010).

Chinese Assertiveness:

Many analysts believe Xi Jinping's China has abandoned Deng Xiaoping's admonition to "bide your time, hide your capabilities." The consensus congealed around a more confident if not assertive China. Nevertheless, assertiveness remains a problematic concept,

and everyone should revisit the basis of the evidence, the thinking behind it, and expectations of Chinese foreign policy.

- Aaron L. Friedberg, "The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing's Assertiveness," *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2015), 133–150.
- Alistair I. Johnston, "How New and Assertive is China's New Assertiveness?" *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Spring 2013), 7–48.
- Björn Jerdén, "The Assertive China Narrative: Why It Is Wrong and How So Many Still Bought into It," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 2014), 47–88.

For Further Reading:

- Ely Ratner, et. al., *More Willing & Able: Charting China's International Security Activism*, Center for a New American Security, May 2015.
- Thomas J. Bickford with Heidi A. Holz and Frederic Vellucci Jr., "Uncertain Waters: Thinking about China's Emergence as a Maritime Power," Center for Naval Analyses, (September 2011), chapters 1-4.
- Andrew Scobell and Mark Cozad, "China's North Korea Policy: Rethink or Recharge?" *Parameters*, Spring 2014.

- Howard W. French, *China's Second Continent: How a Million Migrants are Building a New Empire in Africa* (New York: Vintage, 2015).
- David H. Shinn and Joshua Eisenman, *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)
- Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

The Next Steps: Keeping Up and Moving Forward

Moving Beyond Familiarity toward Expertise

Overview

If you wish to go beyond this syllabus and develop your expertise on Chinese foreign policy, then below are some additional reading suggestions for digging deeper and developing a more informed perspective.

Routine Readings:

The sources below are a few ways to keep up with Chinese foreign policy developments requiring a modest investment of time.

- The Jamestown Foundation's biweekly, electronic journal *China Brief* offers one of the few places where analysis of current Chinese military policy and PLA developments can be found on a regular basis. Available freely online and based predominantly on Chinese sources, China Brief regularly engages some of the best experts on the PLA to write for it.
- *Taiwan Security Research* is a weekly newsletter with a roundup of the week's readings related Taiwan's security situation. Beijing's regional diplomacy and cross-strait relations figure prominently.
- *Chinese Leadership Monitor* offers quarterly updates from leading experts on Chinese

foreign policy, cross-Strait relations, Chinese military developments, China's economic policy, and Party affairs.

- The online portal for the Central Party School journal *Seeking Truth* offers more selective articles on Chinese foreign policy and diplomatic developments. Although much of the content comes from other Chinese newspapers connected to the Central Committee, *Seeking Truth* and its companions *Red Flag* and *Study Times* sometimes carry articles from senior officials.

Books for the Dedicated Reader:

Key Works:

- Thomas Robinson and David Shambaugh, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- David M. Lampton, ed., *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the*

Era of Reform (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

- Ning Lu, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decisionmaking in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).
- Gilbert Rozman, ed., *China's Foreign Policy: Who Makes It, and How Is It Made?* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

China's International Strategy:

- Michael Swaine and Ashley Tellis, *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past Present, and Future* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2000).
- Liselotte Odgaard, *China and Coexistence: Beijing's National Security Strategy for the Twenty-First Century* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2012).
- Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
- Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: Legitimizing Authoritarianism in Our Time* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).
- Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017).

China's Use of Force:

- Paul H.B. Godwin and Alice L. Miller,

China's Forbearance Has Limits: Chinese Threat and Retaliation Signaling and Its Implications for a Sino-American Military Confrontation, China Strategic Perspectives No. 6 (Washington, DC: National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2013).

- Allen Whiting, "China's Use of Force, 1950–1996, and Taiwan," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Autumn 2001), 103–131.

China's Economic Statecraft:

- Li Mingjiang, ed., *China's Economic Statecraft: Co-optation, Cooperation and Coercion* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2017)
- William J. Norris, *Chinese Economic Statecraft: Commercial Actors, Grand Strategy, and State Control* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016)
- Zhang Shuguang, *Beijing's Economic Statecraft during the Cold War, 1949-1991* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014)
- Timothy Heath, "China's Evolving Approach to Economic Diplomacy," *Asia Policy*, No. 22 (July 2016),

U.S.-China Relations:

- Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery*

in Asia (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2011).

- Thomas Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2015).
- Robert Suettinger, *Beyond Tiananmen: The Politics of U.S.-China Relations 1989–2000* (Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2004).
- Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton* (New York: Vintage, 2000).
- Yafeng Xia, *Negotiating with the Enemy: U.S.-China Talks During the Cold War, 1949–1972* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006).

中文

霸权主义
边界
步步为营
裁军
丛林法则
单打独斗
担任
邓小平理论
帝国主义
地球村
东盟
东亚峰会
对外
多边
多极化
发言权
发展中国
贩毒
反恐
繁荣富强
防灾救灾
奋发有为
风云变幻
覆辙
干涉
各得其所
各尽所能
共处
攻坚克难
共赢
共治

拼音

bà quán zhǔ yì
biān jiè
bù bù wéi yíng
cái jūn
cóng lín fǎ zé
dān dǎ dú dòu
dān rèn
dèng xiǎo píng lǐ lùn
dì guó zhǔ yì
dì qiú cūn
dōng méng
dōng yà fēng huì
duì wài
duō biān
duō jí huà
fā yán quán
fā zhǎn zhōng guó
fàn dú
fǎn kǒng
fán róng fù qiáng
fáng zāi jiù zāi
fèn fā yǒu wéi
fēng yún biàn huàn
fù zhé
gān shè
gè dé qí suǒ
gè jìn suǒ néng
gòng chǔ
gōng jiān kè nán
gòng yíng
gòng zhì

英文

hegemonism
boundary
building fortifications after each new advance
disarmament
law of the jungle
to fight alone
to hold a government position or post; to assume office
Deng Xiaoping Theory; Dengism
imperialism
global village
ASEAN
East Asia Summit
external; foreign
multilateral
multi-polarization
right to speak
developing country
drug trafficking
anti-terrorism
rich, strong, and prosperous
disaster prevention and relief
promising and diligent
changeable situation
disastrous policy
interference
each is provided for
each does his utmost
to coexist
difficult to tackle
mutually profitable
co-rule

中文

国防部长
国防政策
国共
国际关系
国际关系民主化
国际社会
国情
国事访问
国务卿
国务委员
国务院
海上丝绸之路
海外利益
和平演变
划界
基础设施
极化
坚定不移
将领
解放军的助手
结盟
兢兢业业
经援
军备竞赛
军备竞争
军警民联防
军控
军贸
军事威胁
军援
勘界

拼音

guó fáng bù zhǎng
guó fáng zhèng cè
guó gòng
guó jì guān xì
guó jì guān xì mín zhǔ huà
guó jì shè huì
guó qíng
guó shì fǎng wèn
guó wù qīng
guó wù wěi yuán
guó wù yuàn
hǎi shàng sī chóu zhī lù
hǎi wài lì yì
hé píng yǎn biàn
huá jiè
jī chǔ shè shī
jí huà
jiān dìng bù yí
jiàng lǐng
jiě fàng jūn de zhù shǒu
jié méng
jīng jīng yè yè
jīng yuán
jūn bèi jìng sài
jūn bèi jìng zhēng
jūn jǐng mín lián fáng
jūn kòng
jūn mào
jūn shì wēi xié
jūn yuán
kān jiè

英文

defense secretary; defense minister
national defense policy
KMT and CCP
international relations
democratization of international relations
international community
national conditions; State of the Union (USA)
state visit
Secretary of State
member of State Council
State Council (PRC); State Department (USA)
Maritime Silk Road
overseas interests
peaceful evolution
demarcation
infrastructure
polarization
unswerving; unflinching
high-ranking military officer
helpers of the PLA
to form an alliance
cautious and conscientious
economic aid
arms race
military arms competition
joint military, law enforcement, and civilian defense
arms control
military and trade
military threat
military aid
demarcation; boundary survey

中文

抗日战争
科教兴国
科学发展观
跨国有组织犯罪
扩散
劳动人民
老框框内
冷战
联合国
联合国宪章
两国关系
邻邦
领导集体
零和博弈
领域
马克思列宁主义
贸易额
贸易伙伴
毛泽东思想
美军
盟友
民兵制度
民调
民族振兴
内忧外患

欧亚经济共同体
贫穷落后
气候变化
求真务实
取长补短

拼音

kàng rì zhàn zhēng
kē jiào xīng guó
kē xué fā zhǎn guān
kuà guó yǒu zǔ zhī fàn zuì
kuò sǎn
láo dòng rén mín
lǎo kuàng kuàng nèi
lěng zhàn
lián hé guó
lián hé guó xiàn zhāng
liǎng guó guān xì
lín bāng
lǐng dǎo jí tǐ
líng hé bó yì
lǐng yù
mǎ kè sī liè níng zhǔ yì
mào yì é
mào yì huǒ bàn
máo zé dōng sī xiǎng
měi jūn
méng yǒu
mín bīng zhì dù
mín diào
mín zú zhèn xīng
nèi yōu wài huàn

ōu yà jīng jì gòng tóng tǐ
pín qióng luò hòu
qì hòu biàn huà
qiú zhēn wù shí
qǔ cháng bǔ duǎn

英文

China's War of Resistance against Japan
to invigorate the country through science and education
Scientific Outlook on Development
transnational organized crime
to spread; proliferation; diffusion
working people
rigid conventions, reactionary framework
Cold War
United Nations
Charter of the United Nations
bilateral relations
neighboring state; adjacent country
leadership group; collective of leaders
zero-sum game
territory
Marxism-Leninism
volume of trade (between two countries)
trading partner
Mao Zedong Thought; Maoism
U.S. armed forces
ally
militia system
opinion poll
national revitalization
internal trouble and outside aggression; in a mess both
domestically and abroad
Eurasian Economic Community
poverty and backwardness
climate change
pragmatic
use others' strengths to make up for one's weaknesses

中文

人武系统
 弱肉强食
 三个代表
 上海合作组织
 社会保障
 涉外
 世界互联网大会
 世情
 实事求是
 守成
 双边
 双重领导
 丝绸之路经济带
 四人帮
 统筹兼顾
 统一领导
 统一战线
 外交部
 外交事务
 外交特权
 网络空间
 五角大楼
 现代化
 小康社会

新型大国关系
 亚太地区
 一带一路
 易发多发
 与时俱进
 战线

拼音

rén wǔ xì tǒng
 ruò ròu qiáng shí
 sān gè dài biǎo
 shàng hǎi hé zuò zǔ zhī
 shè huì bǎo zhàng
 shè wài
 shì jiè hù lián wǎng dà huì
 shì qíng
 shí shì qiú shì
 shǒu chéng
 shuāng biān
 shuāng chóng lǐng dǎo
 sī chóu zhī lù jīng jì dài
 sì rén bāng
 tǒng chóu jiān gù
 tǒng yī lǐng dǎo
 tǒng yī zhàn xiàn
 wài jiāo bù
 wài jiāo shì wù
 wài jiāo tè quán
 wǎng luò kōng jiān
 wǔ jiǎo dà lóu
 xiàn dài huà
 xiǎo kāng shè huì

xīn xíng dà guó guān xì
 yà tài dì qū
 yī dài yī lù
 yì fā duō fā
 yǔ shí jù jìn
 zhàn xiàn

英文

People's Armed Forces system
 law of the jungle
 The Three Represents
 Shanghai Cooperation Organization
 social security
 concerning foreigners or foreign affairs
 World Internet Conference
 world affairs
 seek truth from facts
 to preserve the accomplishments of previous generations
 bilateral
 dual-responsibility system
 Silk Road Economic Zone
 Gang of Four
 an overall plan accounting for all factors
 unified leadership
 united front
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs; foreign office; Dept. of State
 foreign affairs
 diplomatic immunity
 cyberspace
 The Pentagon
 modernization
 society in which the material needs of most citizens are adequately met
 new type of great power relations
 Asia-Pacific
 One Belt, One Road
 prone to happen
 keep pace with the times
 battlefield

中文

争夺霸权
 殖民
 殖民主义
 执政党
 中俄关系
 中国红十字会总会
 中国梦
 中国人民对外友好协会

中国宋庆龄基金会
 中国特色社会主义
 中华民族
 主权
 主宰
 遵守
 尊重网络主权

拼音

zhēng duó bà quán
 zhí mín
 zhí mín zhǔ yì
 zhí zhèng dǎng
 zhōng é guān xì
 zhōng guó hóng shí zì huì zǒng huì
 zhōng guó mèng
 zhōng guó rén mín duì wài yǒu hǎo xié huì

zhōng guó sòng qìng líng jī jīn huì
 zhōng guó tè sè shè huì zhǔ yì
 zhōng huá mín zú
 zhǔ quán
 zhǔ zǎi
 zūn shǒu
 zūn zhòng wǎng luò zhǔ quán

英文

compete for hegemony
 colony
 colonialism
 the ruling party
 Sino-Russian relations
 Chinese Red Cross Society
 China Dream
 Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
 China Soong Ching Ling Foundation
 Socialism with Chinese characteristics
 the Chinese people
 sovereignty
 to dominate, to rule
 to comply with, to respect (an agreement)
 respect for network sovereignty